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SUBJECT: INTSUM 618 - AUGUST 1, 1978

LONDON FOR KINSOLVING

PARIS FOR NICHOLAS MURPHY

OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

1. LEBANON. YESTERDAY, A 500-MAN LEBANESE ARMY FORCE MOVED SOUTH ALONG THE BEKAA VALLEY ROAD FROM BASE AT ABLAH TO KAWKABA. THE SYRIAN ARMY SECURED THE ADVANCE. AT KAWKABA, THE FORCE ENTERED THE UN-CONTROLLED AREA. THE PLAN WAS FOR THE ARMY TO ADVANCE SOUTHWARD DOWN A VALLEY BETWEEN THE TWO CHRISTIAN RIGHTIST STRONGHOLDS OF MARJAYOUN AND KHIYAM. THE LEBANESE FORCE, HOWEVER, WAS HALTED AT KAWKABA WHEN THE RIGHTISTS THREATENED TO SHELL THE ADVANCING TROOPS AND REPORTS INDICATED THAT THE ROAD HAD BEEN MINED. PERHAPS AS MANY AS 18 ARTILLERY ROUNDS WERE FIRED IN THE AREA OF THE ADVANCING COLUMN. (SOME REPORTS SAY THE RIGHTISTS DID THIS; OTHERS INDICATE IT WAS THE ISRAELIS.)

2. THE NEW CRISIS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON ILLUSTRATES THE IMPORTANT ROLE PLAYED BY CHRISTIAN MILITIAMEN AND THEIR LEADERS ALONG THE ISRAELI BORDER. THE MILITIAS IN THE  
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SOUTH ARE LARGELY INDEPENDENT OF ANY OUTSIDE CONTROL, ALTHOUGH THEY DO HAVE SOME LINKS WITH THE CHRISTIAN GROUPS IN THE BEIRUT AREA.

3. THE 4,000 CHRISTIAN FIGHTERS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON ARE DIVIDED INTO SEVERAL FACTIONS--INCLUDING PHALANGISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE SHAMUNIST NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY. ABOUT 400 OF THE CHRISTIANS ARE NOMINALLY MEMBERS OF A LEBANESE ARMY UNIT THAT TOOK CONTROL OF SEVERAL TOWNS IN THE SOUTH WHEN THE ARMY DISINTEGRATED DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN 1976.

4. NO ONE COMPLETELY CONTROLS THE MILITIAMEN, BUT THE MAJOR FIGURE IN THE CHRISTIAN CAMP IS THE 41-YEAR-OLD EXTREME RIGHTIST, MAJOR SAAD HADDAD, A GREEK CATHOLIC AND NATIVE OF MARJAYOUN. A CAREER ARMY OFFICER TRAINED IN FRANCE AND THE US, HADDAD ASSUMED CONTROL OF THE CHRISTIAN MILITARY UNIT THAT REMAINED IN THE SOUTH NEAR MARJAYOUN WHEN THE LEBANESE ARMY FELL APART.

5. ALTHOUGH HADDAD STILL IS PAID BY THE ARMY AND SAYS HE REPRESENTS THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, BEIRUT HAS NO INFLUENCE OVER HIM. HADDAD REGARDS PRESIDENT SARKIS AS A

SYRIAN PUPPET AND HAS OFTEN PUBLICLY EXPRESSED CONTEMPT FOR HIM. HADDAD HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH FORMER LEBANESE PRESIDENT SHAMUN.

6. EVEN HADDAD'S ISRAELI ALLIES PROFESS TO FIND HIM HARD TO CONTROL. ALTHOUGH THE ISRAELIS HAVE TOLD US OFFICIALS IN THE PAST THAT THEY CANNOT STOP HADDAD FROM CONDUCTING FOOLISH OPERATIONS WHEN HE IS DETERMINED TO ACT, THEY DO CONTROL HIS SUPPLY LINES AND PROBABLY COULD HAVE SOME INFLUENCE OVER HIS ACTIONS.

7. SINCE THE ISRAELI INVASION OF THE SOUTH IN MARCH, HADDAD HAS PROCLAIMED HIMSELF THE COMMANDER OF THE "ARMY OF SOUTH LEBANON" AND HAS ORDERED COMPULSORY MILITARY  
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SERVICE FOR ALL MALES AGED 18 TO 45. HIS EFFORTS TO BROADEN HIS BASE OF SUPPORT TO INCLUDE SHIA MUSLIMS-- SOUTHERN LEBANON'S MAJORITY SECT--HAVE NOT, HOWEVER, BEEN NOTABLY SUCCESSFUL. HE SEEMS TO ENJOY BROAD SUPPORT AMONG THE CHRISTIANS IN THE SOUTH, BUT HE DOES NOT HAVE COMPLETE CONTROL OVER HIS FOLLOWERS, AND THE VARIOUS MILITIAS ARE LIKELY TO FOLLOW HIM ONLY AS LONG AS HE ADHERES TO A HARD LINE.

8. ALMOST EVERY OBSERVER WHO MEETS WITH HADDAD, INCLUDING CHRISTIAN POLITICANS, COMES AWAY DESCRIBING HIM AS A FANATIC, AND HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS ARE OFTEN INFLAMMATORY. ACCORDING TO UNCONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS, HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING DOZENS OF MUSLIM CIVILIANS DURING THE ISRAELI INVASION.

9. MAJOR SAMI SHIDIAK, ALSO A CHRISTIAN AND A CAREER ARMY OFFICER, CONTROLS THE WESTERN HALF OF THE CHRISTIAN BUFFER ZONE, WHILE HADDAD RUNS THE EASTERN SECTION. BORN IN NORTHERN LEBANON, SHIDIAK IS RELATED TO SHAMUN AND LAST YEAR MARRIED AN ISRAELI. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE PHALANGES PARTY AND KEEPS IN CONTACT WITH THE PARTY LEADERSHIP.

10. NEITHER HADDAD NOR SHIDIAK WELCOMED THE ARRIVAL OF THE UN FORCES IN THE SOUTH; HADDAD INITIALLY TRIED TO STOP THEIR DEPLOYMENT BY FORCE. BOTH WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE ISRAELIS STAY. UNDER ISRAELI PRESSURE, THE CHRISTIANS AGREED TO TRY TO WORK OUT A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE UN, BUT THEY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP THEIR CONTROL OVER THE BUFFER AREA.

11. THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO EXERT ANY AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1976. IT WOULD LIKE TO REPLACE HADDAD AND SHIDIAK WITH TRUSTED OFFICERS--AND GET  
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THEM OUT OF THE COUNTRY--BUT SARKIS CANNOT REGAIN POWER UNTIL HE STATIONS RELIABLE ARMY UNITS IN THE AREA. EVEN THEN, THE ISRAELIS WANT THEIR ALLIES TO REMAIN. LEBANESE LEFTISTS AND MUSLIMS, AS WELL AS THE SYRIANS AND THE PALESTINIANS, REGARD HADDAD AND SHIDIAK AS TRAITORS WHO SHOULD BE PUNISHED. (SECRET)

12. SAUDI ARABIA. PRINCE FAHD LEFT EGYPT FOR DAMASCUS YESTERDAY. HE WAS ALSO REPORTEDLY SCHEDULED TO STOP OVER IN AMMAN. WE BELIEVE FAHD MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE AN ARAB SUMMIT WHICH WOULD BRING ASSAD AND SADAT TOGETHER AND WORK TOWARD THE REESTABLISHMENT OF MODERATE ARAB UNITY. WE SUSPECT THAT ONE PRECONDITION FOR SYRIAN ATTENDANCE WOULD BE PUBLIC RECOGNITION BY SADAT THAT HIS PEACE INITIATIVE HAS FAILED. (CONFIDENTIAL)

13. JORDAN. THERE HAS BEEN A NOTICEABLE INCREASE IN PALESTINIAN FEDAYEEN ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE SOUTHWARD, ACROSS THE SYRIA/JORDAN BORDER DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. THE MOST RECENT ATTEMPT OCCURRED ON JULY 18 WHEN FOUR FEDAYEEN WERE APPREHENDED BY AN ARMY PATROL SHORTLY AFTER CROSSING THE YARMUK RIVER. CONCURRENT WITH THESE ATTEMPTS HAS BEEN A DISTINCT CHANGE IN THE SYRIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD COOPERATION WITH JORDAN IN ANTI-INFILTRATION

MEASURES ACROSS THEIR COMMON BORDER. DAMASCUS NO LONGER PROVIDES ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE ON FEDAYEEN PLANS. THE SYRIANS ARE REPORTEDLY ALSO NOW ACTIVELY ASSISTING FEDAYEEN ATTEMPTS TO TRANSIT JORDAN ENROUTE TO ISRAEL.

14. VERY LITTLE IF ANY INFILTRATION INTO JORDAN OCCURS WITHOUT AT LEAST SYRIAN ACQUIESCENCE. DAMASCUS HAS A TIGHT REIN ON PALESTINIAN ACTIVITIES IN SYRIA AND CAN PREVENT INFILTRATION IF IT DESIRES. ASSAD IS NOT HAPPY WITH KING HUSAYN'S OPEN SUPPORT FOR SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVE AND, GIVEN HUSAYN'S INTEREST IN THE PEACE PROCESS,

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ASSAD IS FACED WITH A SETTLEMENT IN WHICH HE WOULD BE ODD MAN OUT. ANOTHER FACTOR IN THE EQUATION IS ASSAD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PALESTINIANS. AS ASSAD BECOMES ISOLATED, HIS NEED TO BE TIED TO THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE INCREASES. IT COULD WELL BE THAT THE QUID PRO QUO FOR ARAFAT'S QUASHING FEDAYEEN ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, IS TO PERMIT RENEWED ACTIVITIES AGAINST ISRAEL VIA JORDAN. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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